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We ask for genuine reconstruction founded upon the new conception of labor as a sanctified human factor; we get an evasion of the cardinal fact, and are offered workshop control plus an industrial national council, which would not trench upon the functions of Employers' Associations, who are still to profiteer to their hearts' content. . . . The main provisions of the Memorandum are doomed to failure because they deliberately refuse economic democracy. They do worse; they make a pretense of it, ". . . and this is to court not merely a storm of derision but to incite to anger the workers" (pp. 85-87).

The truth of this passage depends, of course, on the attitude of the workers. In any case it is evident that there may be definitions—and definitions—of "economic democracy." The matter is one of the psychology of labor's demands. The practicability or justice of demands is another question.

The weak points, and they are extremely serious, in Mr. Hobson's exposition are common to guild writers. (1) The functions of the political state (which Mr. Cole says is to represent the consumers) are not made clear. One labors with the impression that it will not have much to do, though this feeling is modified somewhat by the passage on "functional free-play" on pages 144-145. (2) The division of powers between the political state and the industrial guilds is very hazy. (3) The author passes over in a spirit almost of levity the problem of adjustment of payment under the guild system. The question of assignment of work he does not touch upon at all. As to payment it appears that everyone, save the old and incapacitated, is to be on monthly or annual salary whether actually employed or not—a proposal in keeping with the tenet that each industry should support its own unemployed. Perhaps there would in that case be fewer unemployed, perhaps not.

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*The I. W. W. A Study of American Syndicalism.* By PAUL FREDERICK BRISSENDEN. (New York: Longmans Green and Company. 1919. Pp. 432. \$4.00.)

An admirable account of a little understood but most important phase of the American labor movement is given in this study. Dr. Brissenden brings out clearly the economic and philosophic background of American syndicalism, and, at the same time, avoids the danger of separating the theory from its application in the field of industry. He is able to do this because he has not de-

pended solely upon documents or the words of officials, but has actually seen the "wobbly" on strike, has noted the appeal of the leaders on the soap box, knows how the stage is set for a free speech fight, and how martyrdom is manufactured. He has been aided by a most revealing literature. The proceedings of the first convention in 1905 show every angle of radicalism, and the proponents of the various doctrines took full advantage of the free field open to them at that time. The numerous pamphlets and the columns of the many journals which have blossomed in the morning only to be cut down in the evening give without pose, or with such obvious pretense that actual frankness is achieved, a clearer idea of what is behind I. W. W.-ism than do the more sophisticated publications of better established labor organizations.

The equipment of the author and the tact with which he has handled his documentary material permit him to give us a history which not only the expert in labor economics will understand but, rarest of all feats, which will be comprehensible to the men within the movement itself.

The I. W. W. is an organization with many officers and very few privates. Founded in part as a protest against the "labor faker" and professional official, and with a consequent distrust of all leaders, it has developed an officialdom which is most powerful in dictating policies. Bill Haywood, the shrewd politician and able mob orator, the pathetic Daniel De Leon whose dry intellectualism dominated the first convention, but whose fanatical dogmatism wrecked every movement which he led, and other leaders of smaller importance reveal themselves in this book.

Dr. Brissenden emphasizes the struggle between the direct actionist and the political actionist and the impossibility of the labor movement surrendering either method. This was the logic of De Leon and his Detroit wing of the I. W. W. and it is unescapable, but it is equally clear that the dramatic free speech fight, the snap strike, sabotage, etc., which do not require patient organization, are more attractive to the type who might become I. W. W.'s. Hence few people have ever heard of De Leon's Detroit I. W. W., while the Chicago organization fills the headlines of the daily papers. The group who might have been attracted to De Leonism find a more fertile field "boring from within" in the American Federation of Labor.

The author tells us that "the negative and destructive items of the I. W. W. program are deliberately misconstrued and then

stretched out and made to constitute the whole of I. W. W.-ism. In reality they are only a minor part of the creed." Perhaps this is true, but is it possible to make such a sharp differentiation between creed and its mode of expression, which is almost entirely destructive?

Dr. Brissenden attacks the position of the prosecutors of the I. W. W. and the liberals who would kill I. W. W.-ism by kindness. "The improvement of working conditions in the mines and lumber camps would tend to eliminate the cruder and less fundamental I. W. W. activities, but it would not kill I. W. W.-ism." In De Leon's phrase it would put it on the "civilized plane." Every one who is familiar with the growth of quasi-syndicalist ideas within conservative trade unions will agree.

The book has a large bibliography and interesting appendices, including selections from the I. W. W. song-book.

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#### NEW BOOKS

ANDREWS, J. B. *Labor problems and labor legislation.* (New York: American Association for Labor Legislation. 1919. Pp. 136. 10c.)

ARNOT, R. P. *Facts from the coal commission.* (London: Miners' Federation of Great Britain. 1919. 6d.)

ATTERBURY, W. W. *The rights of those who labor. An address delivered before Department Number 2 of the Pennsylvania Railroad Woman's Division for War Relief.* (Philadelphia: Penn. R. R. Branch Y. M. C. A. 1919. Pp. 9.)

BLOOMFIELD, M. *Management and men.* (New York: Century Co. 1919. Pp. xv, 591. \$3.50.)

The title is inappropriate, for the book is a discussion of industrial conditions in general and of labor conditions in particular in Great Britain during the last years of the war and the first few weeks following the armistice. More than half of the volume consists of an appendix or source book of material which is used by the author as a basis for discussion. Footnotes make reference easy, and the arrangement is satisfactory, for it does away with the necessity of turning to other books and at the same time frees the text from the encumbrance of too much documentary material. There is much here that would be difficult for the average reader to obtain elsewhere. The index provided is too brief to serve satisfactorily the large mass of material presented.

The six chapters of text are most readable. In the first chapter, on From War to Work in Great Britain, are presented some of the important problems facing the British industrial world; such as the